174 to maintain, which others seized from them, and suzerains became
182 vassals. But in spite of these contingencies of war, the Tuareg
565 attach great importance to blood origins and always respect high-
[554 born people, even though they may be their vanquished /adversaries/.
727]

Thus, at the present time, the nobles of the Ahaggar and the
554 Ajjer may be seen to seek alliances with women of the fallen fraction
565 of the Imenan Sultans. This adds to the luster of their high origin
581 a certain character of religious nobility, which is much appreciated among Moslems.

800 Monogamy and matriarchy. -- To understand Tuareg society, one must remember two important facts, facts which are, moreover, not completely independent of each other, monogamy and matriarchy.

/151/ While the Tuareg are Moslems and have polygamous
174 peoples as neighbors, it is astonishing to note that they practice
562 monogamy. This is an evident indication that women occupy an
[595] important place in their society, in no way comparable to what they occupy among the Arabs. This was very striking to the first travelers who thought they saw traces of an ancient Christianity in the persistence of monogamy. This argument might be held if we did not know, on the other hand, that the social organization of the Tuareg rests on matriarchy, an ancient custom much earlier than the Christian era, which explains monogamy and the particularly high position of women.

Gautier writes on this subject: "It may be said that the Tuareg practice chivalrous gallantry; the expression is inadequate only because of the association it evokes. Our chivalry has a Christian origin; the respect of the Tuareg for women has much deeper and more remote reasons. It goes back to matriarchy, which is earlier than the notion of the state and even that of the family. It is a living witness of completely primordial humanity, a sentiment, if I may say so, of the quaternary age." (1)

1. La conquête du Sahara /The Conquest of the Sahara/, p. 33.

tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation. It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live..

In their case we are confronted at the present time by a matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights, her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes, and even has a greater freedom of mores.

It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy among the Tuareg.

174 It seems to have existed in ancient times among all the Hamites. Frobenius sees traces of it in traditional customs which leave the raising of the tent to the women and give them a monopoly on leather-work. These singular characteristics reveal the primordial nature of the sentiment of life among the Hamites. (1)

1. In Jenson, "Les orbes culturels de l'Afrique /Culture Spheres of Africa/," L'Afrique, Cahiers d'art, 1931.

428 554 622 Among the Ihaggaren, the wife wills her social and political rights to her children. These are particularly important when it is a question of the succession of a chief. Political filiation of the first degree is made to the brother; in the second degree to the eldest son of the maternal aunt; in the third degree, to the eldest son of the eldest sister, which constitutes a guarantee for blood descent in the line of chiefs.

184 622 The Ioullimmiden /Aulliminden/ do not practice political succession according to matriarchal rules. The explorer Barth has even reported that they consider this custom shameful "and show that the chief has little confidence in his wife's virtue." (2)

2. Voyages et découvertes en Afrique /Travels and Discoveries in Africa/, vol. I, p. 205.

174 Though command is now the privilege of the men, it is not impossible that in the past women were invested with power. We have evidence of it in the story of the Berber queen, Kahéna, who for a long time resisted the Arab invaders who were trying to conquer Aurès in the eighth century. The legend of Ti-n-Hinan, maternal ancestor of the Ihaggaren Tuareg, leads us to believe that the woman was their queen. In 1475, a Berber fraction settled

578 643 692 to arrogate rights over vassals for themselves. There are internal disputes of the sort: "Who made you a count? And who made you king?"

643 It is particularly in the relations with neighboring or foreign tribes that the aménokal's role takes on a more national aspect, yet his decisions do not have full authority unless they have been approved by an assembly of notables -- the arollan -- composed of the principal chiefs of fractions and nobles.

/157/ The aménokal lives like the other Tuareg, and there is no ceremony surrounding his person. All comers present themselves [644] at his tent with no more formality than that. There is no court or court etiquette.

534 643 Only the tobol, generally placed at the entrance to the tent, indicates the rank of the host.

This drum is in the shape of a hemisphere, hollowed out of a tree trunk and covered with a cowhide with the hair still on it. The hide is held by leather thongs with the hairy side up. It may be as much as 80 centimeters in diameter. Two leather handles on the sides are used to carry it. For gatherings, two men strike it alternately with a camelskin drumstick (imîtkar). Only the aménokal has the right to have it sounded, which he does only on the most important occasions. Upon his death, his brother or his caliph is entrusted with it until it can be given to his successor. The aménokal does not go [492] far without his drum, which is carried on a camel led by a trusted man; when he gives the order to beat the drum, another meharist /man mounted on a mehari, or fast dromedary/ approaches to take the other handle, and the two men march side by side, striking alternately. Any warrior who hears it is supposed to rally to the call and at the same time inform the people he meets. In case of war, [202] the beating tells whether they are dealing with foot soldiers or meharists, depending on whether there are one or two imîtkar.

When the hide of the tobol is worn out, the most renowned [554] warrior of the tribe is entrusted to replace it.

565
554 The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished
[302] than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing
[516] nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad
by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant
[195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words
foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of
appearance and language is even more perceptible among the
554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their
562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their
574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society.
Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well
[533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The
qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know-
[516] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather
articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know-
ing how to play the violin.

565
[83] Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part
513 of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the
[842] Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which
582 are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the
[648] other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it,
and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the
last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original
stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting it-
self to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could
bring it.

565 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class
[793 among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/
87] and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the
children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite
[651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Iḫaggaren and the Kel Ajjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifora were pillaged themselves upon several occasions by the Iḫaggaren and forced to seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

[797] The influence of the Inislimen on the Iḫaggaren and the Kel Ajjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact, they are generally quite ignorant.

[554] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving, they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and disapproved of the belligerent action of the Iḫaggaren against us, in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tademaket
565 and the Ioutlimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.
797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to
[648] become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifora was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tademeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents. They are found all over Tuareg country.

[724] Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
[181] refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
701 other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Chériffen are divided into ordinary Chériffen and warrior Chériffen.

563 [651] Every year they pay the aménokal three loads of dates and three young goats.

[554] The Irréguénaten. -- The Irréguénaten, like the Issekkemâren, are assimilated vassals of a social rank superior to that of the Imrad.

They are of Tuareg mothers from the Ibettenâten tribe and Arab fathers from the Kounta tribe.

They are divided into two groups: 1) the Adrar Irréguénaten or Issettafénine Irréguénaten, who descended from a sherif of Gourara named Abdelmoumen, whose two sons Mouima and Inchelane married Ibettenâten women; 2) the Ahaggar Irréguénaten or Ihaggarénine Irréguénaten, who descended from the Dermachaka, an incorporated tribe of Kounta and Ibettenâten.

All of them nomadize in the northern Ădrar des Ifŏras and the Timétrine and even push as far as Erg Chech. They also visit the Ăhnet and Tămasna.

[233] This is a very rich tribe engaged in raising camels. The Irréguénaten own more than 2, 300 camels, 350 cows, and more than 2, 350 goats and sheep.

[162] In 1908 they numbered 50 to 60 men, according to Benhazéra. The 1938 census raises the figure to 358 persons, 100 of them fighters.

[651] /202/ They pay the tioussé to the descendants of the Inemba and to the descendants of Si Mohamed ag Othman.

[669] Although they associated with the Adrar Kounta, they maintained relations with the rebellious marabout Abidine, who took refuge among the Kel Ahnet. They probably even served him as spies, and the people of Ădrar des Ifŏras held them in suspicion for a long time.

[28] [462] Their camel raising is very well known, and their wives are quite expert in leatherwork.

[609] There are also Irréguénaten in the Niger loop, but they have no bonds of kinship with the Ahaggar Irréguénaten.

836 pure until her marriage," said Dr. Vermale elsewhere. "Those are sentiments which the Tuareg do not understand. Thus, as soon as she is nubile, she goes to the ohal and it is not long before she is deflowered. Virginity does not exist and has no representative value in the eyes of the Tuareg." (2) Indeed, the women are

2. Op. cit., p. 171.

more or less easy. Some give themselves to the first comer; others grant their favors to only a small group of friends. To grant them [839] only to a single person, however, would be judged in very bad 577 taste and a sign of perversion.

No one finds fault with their free mores, on the condition [554] that they let themselves be courted only by men of a social condition equal to their own. Some women let themselves be courted by slaves and that is considered a shame for them.

842 /290/ One may be astonished that unwed mothers are not more numerous with such dissolute mores. Contraception is com- [833] monly used, and, as Dr. Foley said, effusio seminis inter crura is probably the frequent conclusion of the nocturnal rendezvous after the ahal. (1) These restrictive measures must not be unre-

1. Moeurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar /Ahaggar Tuareg Mores and Medicine/, p. 56.

lated to the low birth rate of the Tuareg, and it is quite possible that the married Tuareg woman continues to practice them.

847 Bearing children out of wedlock and bastardy (agama) are the [848] object of public discredit. The Tuareg rarely practice abortion, but infanticides used to be quite numerous, and no one thought of being offended by them. When a woman finds herself pregnant

The religious lukewarmness of the Tuareg is such that they do not always profess great respect for marabouts and very few of them make the pilgrimage to Mecca. When Duveyrier made his trip to Ghat (1860) there were some thirty pilgrims among the northern Tuareg (1); at the present time there are probably only three men

1. Op. cit., p. 413.

among the Ihăggaren who can be honored with the title of El Hadj.

But this tepidity does not always exclude fanaticism. Barth already mentioned that he had to face it during his trip and that he was assailed by questions and had to discuss different religious dogmas with some Tuareg; he extricated himself from this by a perfect knowledge of the Koran and of Moslem mores. /306/ Their religious ignorance makes them, at the same time, easy instruments in the hands of marabouts who have often profited from this to stir up hate for the Christians and to push them into a holy war, as was the case for the revolts of 1915 - 1916 - 1917. In spite of the bitter failures which resulted, their confidence in their thaumaturgy was not at all diminished.

At the present time there are several Koranic schools in the Ahaggar conducted by Arab marabouts and set up in the agricultural centers. They are mainly attended by Harratin children, for Tuareg children, who stay in their parent's camps, cannot go to them because they are too far away. A marabout family, originally from Cheurfa d'Aoulef (Tidikelt) settled in the Ahaggar some forty years ago and enjoys a great veneration. Not long ago it was fixed in the little center of Dar-Mouli, where it enhanced the value of the place, but as a result of the dryness of the spot it was moved to Esselissekine. There each year a great alms feast takes place, and all the Ahaggar Tuareg come. Its present chief, Moulay el Ouafi ben Moulay abd Allah is an example of piety, although still quite young, and he is surrounded by great respect.

In speaking of the Islamization of the Tuareg, Henri Basset said that the latter had taken almost nothing from Islam, except

Lefaucheux type. But their prices were high for Tuareg pocket-books, and it was difficult to procure powder and bullets, which made firearms uncommon and often the prerogative of the chiefs.

Tuareg weapons vary according to the circumstances. The Imochar carries the arms he likes: they include the sword (tacouba), which is the weapon par excellence of the nobles; the iron lance (allar') carried by nobles and vassals; javelins with iron shoulder and point and wooden staff (tarda), which are set aside for vassals and slaves; and the forearm dagger (télak) provided with a leather ring so that it may be hung from the wrist. In the Sudan slaves also carry wooden clubs (tabouri), heavy branches with a knot at one end.

Fig. 57. Old type arm dagger.

The Tuareg have only one defensive weapon, the buckler (ahrer) which is made of oryx antelope skin. It was generally the prerogative of the nobles, and only they had the right to carry it. It recalls the coat of arms by its shape and the ideology which surrounds it; the decorative motifs which it bears have a magic character.

The Tuareg are adroit fencers, fighting hand /326/ to hand with their swords while protecting themselves with their bucklers which cover their bodies and which they handle with a great deal of dexterity in spite of the volume and weight. The sword cuts

411 and, if it is of good quality, it is liable to split a buckler in two.
714 The hand is protected by a little rectangular iron guard which gives the shape of a cross to the upper part of the sword.

Duveyrier, the explorer, noted that the Tuareg used the bow.
114 We have not found this weapon among them, nor any evidence as
411 to what it used to be used for.

[714
281]

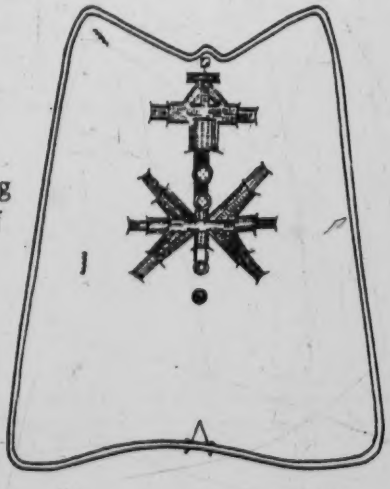

Fig. 58. Tuareg buckler made of oryx antelope skin.

411 All of these weapons have become very archaic in view of the arrival of rapid-firing weapons. The Ahaggar Imochar still
[554] hold to their sword, which they always wear over their shoulders, and which seems to be used more to indicate their social rank than for warring action. In the Sudan almost all the Tuareg still carry lances, and some of them carry forearm daggers. In Aïr one may still see a buckler hung from the saddle of a mehari. But in a few years all these objects will be good for filling trophy cases.

565 three main classes, the Tuareg nobles (fig. 46) and vassals (fig. 47) and the Negro slaves.

565 Rank seems to be essentially a quality of the clan rather than of the individual, for the 614 Tuareg commonly speak of "noble clans" and "vassal clans," and, when one is in doubt about [554] a person's social status, one does not ask what his rank is but what clan he belongs to. The "tobol," [6] the symbol of precedence, is clan property and belongs to no particular family, although it is kept by the chief of the premier clan of a tribe as the symbol of his authority.

619 The Ahaggar confederation comprises three 614 tribes, the Kel Rela, the Tégéhé Mellet and the Taïtoq, each headed by a noble clan which gives its name to the tribe as a whole [7] (figs. 25, 26, *b* and 27). Noble clans by definition outrank vassal clans, so that the chief of a noble Ahaggar clan is usually chief of his tribe as well. The noble clans and their dependent vassal clans with them are arranged in an order of precedence, and so the chief of the premier [643] clan (the *Kel Rela*) is also chief of the Kel Rela tribe and paramount chief (*Amenokal*) of the Ahaggar confederation.

614 It is men who govern at all levels of Ahaggar society. Among the Tuareg a tribal chief is 622 chosen from the premier clan of the tribe by 562 a clan council made up of the male heads of households, but he must be confirmed in office by a council of male representatives of all the component clans of his tribe because his tenure depends materially on the willingness of these clans to pay him tribute. For the same reason, the final confirmation of an amenokal rests with a council made up of male representatives of all the clans in the whole confederation. Tribal chiefs also act as judges, and an amenokal is the chief justice of his confederation.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary in the female line,[8] but within fairly broad and seemingly rather indefinite limits of degree of relation-

thereabouts, but this succession may not have been thought of as brother-to-brother inheritance after all. It seems perhaps more likely that the successor in such a case is looked on as an heir of the former chief's mother rather than of the former chief himself. Ancient Egyptian records, cited by Bates (1914, p. 112), tell of at least one Libyan chief who was succeeded by his younger brother in preference to his son. It would be a waste of time for us to try to explain the few early cases of father-to-son inheritance that have been reported because the circumstances surrounding them are not at all clear.

291 Tuareg attach considerable importance to
[439] indigo blue cotton cloth, a product which they get from the Sudan. This material is commonly known as "chegga" (pronounced *shegga*), and the most archaic and highly prized variety is made of a multitude of long strips about an inch wide sewn tightly together. The cloth itself, of very ordinary quality, is so heavily impregnated with crude indigo as to be literally stiff with it. A brand new piece looks black when seen at a distance or in a poor light, but in bright sunlight it is a dark purplish blue with a coppery sheen like that of cheap carbon paper; and the indigo dye comes off on your fingers at the slightest touch, just as the ink on carbon paper does but much more so.

302 Obviously, anyone who wears clothes made of such material is soon stained with indigo from head to foot, and the Tuareg even rub it into their skins on purpose. Women often smear it on their foreheads, cheeks and temples and around their mouths by way of make-up. The
[751] Tuareg claim that indigo not only protects human skin from the direct effects of sun and wind but also lubricates it and so prevents cracking, and they are quite right, at least up
[515] to a point. If the Tuareg wash themselves only very rarely, it is partly to preserve the accumulated protective coating of indigo, the humble practical value of which has been
[554] gradually enhanced by an ever-increasing value of prestige that has risen in proportion to the rising cost of indigo-dyed cloth. A dirty looking, bluish skin is admired by the Tuareg just as much as a rich golden tan is admired in midwinter by the business men and women of New England and New York.

515 It should be noted that in the Sahara Desert proper one can go unwashed for long periods without either feeling or looking noticeably dirty. The air is so dry that perspiration usually evaporates instantly upon reaching the surface of the skin, and so it is unusual for anyone to sweat visibly. Most of the nomadic
[147] natives are in excellent physical condition in that they are very lean and wiry, and so they sweat relatively little in any case. Thus it is extremely rare to meet one who has any perceptible body odor at all, regardless of whether he looks clean or not. White foreigners are seldom in anywhere near as good physi-

their permission asked, even those who are far away. It would be very bad to marry a young girl without the knowledge of one of the members of her family. 584

Since a girl usually marries at twenty to twenty-five years, she is consulted. Even if she is a virgin and, as such, subject to parental authority according to Moslem law, she is usually not forced to marry against her will. If the case arises, she has only to refuse herself to her husband, and he does not insist but sends her back to her parents. [582]

Just as among the Arabs, a woman who has already been married must give her consent. [587]

Chapter VII

Marriage

Marriage, "adouben" ⵜⴰⴷⵓⴱⵏⵜ or "tedlout" ⵜⵜⴰⵍⵓⵜ has some quite curious features. 585

The proposal of marriage has been accepted. The day of the wedding has been set. If a quite influential noble is getting married, the wedding /15/ will have many guests. If it is an "amr'id" (serf), the celebration will be much simpler and more private, but the ceremonies and songs will be the same. [554]

The men guests, mounted on their best meharis, arrayed in their most beautiful clothes and finest arms, arrive at the bride's camp where the wedding is to take place. The women go to the bride's home with their "imz'aden" (violins) and their "tobol" (drums).

If the women are poor they go there by donkey; if they are rich they arrive by mehari, in their saddles which are shaped like sedan chairs and of which we will find a description below. [492 556 562]

The celebration begins about one o'clock in the afternoon. The men saddle their meharis and the camel-back games, "iloudjan foull imnas" ⵉⵍⵓⴷⵊⴰⵏ ⴼⵓⵍ ⵉⵎⵏⴰⵙ , will begin. The women gather, beat their tobol, sing and play the amz'ad to excite the riders. The latter, in groups of two or more, abandon themselves to a wild race on their meharis, which they throw into a gallop.

During this time the bride, hidden at the home of her maternal aunt or a relative on the maternal side, must veil her eyes and not watch the games. If by mischance she should look at one of the riders, he would fall, and there would be an accident.

As to the groom, he does not take part in the games. Mounted on a white mehari, "ebidedj" ⵉⴱⵉⴷⴷⵊ , he is present beside one of his friends, but he must remain impassive, his face carefully veiled.

The games last until sunset.

At this point two "tolbas" and two friends of the groom go to find the bride's father, if she is still a virgin, or the woman herself if she has already been married, to ask him or her to name a representative. The groom is also asked to name his representative.

These two representatives meet with the tolbas and the friends, and the marriage is contracted. It is at this time that the bride price, /16/ "tagalt" ⵜⴰⴳⴰⵍⵜ , is set. For nobles it consists, as a rule, of seven camels; for imr'ad it may consist, depending on their means, of one camel or several sheep or goats. The groom pays part of the bride price: one or two camels if he is a noble; three or four sheep if he is an amr'id and if he is not rich; the rest he owes. The animals which have been paid have their throats cut and provide the wedding feast. Then the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran) is read to call divine blessing on the newlyweds.

After the contract the women meet, the amz'ad is played for a moment, but the bed of the newlyweds must be prepared.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 82b. Cf. text Fig. 82a.

qualities as strength and speed, but rather on elegance and sublimity. The riders sit straight in the saddles without watching the crowd of women, and the camels are ridden at a gentle trot (generally that known as *senat-senat*; cf. p. 99) with their heads drawn back. In this way the men may also ride their animals round the women in a circle as I have seen in Ayr (cf. Fig. 82).

Camels have important social functions among the Tuareg who take an interest in these animals far beyond their practical value. It may perhaps be useful to compare Tuareg interest in camels with Nuer interest in cattle so brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard. Nuer caress their animals, and there is a tendency for human beings and cattle to form, so to speak, a single community (Evans-Pritchard 1940, p. 16–50). This is not exactly true of Tuareg and camels. The Tuareg do not pat their camels which will not respond to caressing, and they do not live in very close contact with their animals, most of which frequently graze far away from the camp under the supervision of one or two herdsmen. But the Tuareg nevertheless have much the same feeling towards camels as Nuer have towards their cattle. They are very fond of their animals. They may abstain from camel's flesh because they are fond of camels and would feel very sick at heart when eating them. But though the Tuareg are fond of camels as such, they are delighted particularly at the sight of a very fine camel (*akemhur*; Ahaggar) and may even speak disparagingly of a badly built animal (*amugey*; Ahaggar). Fine camels add to the prestige of a man, while too many animals of poor build may even harm his reputation. When girls and young women praise camel-riders in their songs they praise those mounted on fine and richly-decorated animals. When camels are mentioned in poetry this may also be done as praise to their owners, as in a poem composed in honour of noble Tuareg of the *Uraren* (*Kel Ajjer*) of whom it is said that "their pack-camels have feet as large as a drum, and the loads they carry are like the crests of mountains" (Hanoteau 1896, p. 218). Such reference to pack-camels, however, seems to be rare in Tuareg poetry, while riding camels are frequently mentioned in connection with warfare and love. Riding camels have much the same esteemed position as had horses in Medieval Europe. Tuareg interest in camels is particularly focused on riding camels and there is a tendency towards identification

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

567 608 in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner. When a slave marries a slave girl the latter becomes the daughter-in-law of her husband's owner, and there will consequently be a kind of avoidance between these persons as between other relatives-in-law of different generations. In connection with slave-marriages it is of some interest to mention the following custom practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar:—

582 431 Among the Tuareg of Ahaggar a man has a certain marriage priority to his mother's brother's daughter according to rules which are outlined in the next chapter (p. 458 ff.). Therefore when a Tuareg's mother's brother's daughter marries somebody else the first man vill be entitled to a pair of sandals from the groom. In agreement with this custom a slave when marrying a slave-girl must give a pair of sandals to his wife's owner's ("father's") sister's son as explained in the diagram above (Fig. 292).

(2) The husband in a Tuareg pastoral family stands in the relationship of "father-in-law" (*adeggal*) to all slaves owned by his wife, while the wife is the "mother-in-law" (*tadeggalt*) of all slaves owned by her husband. Between these fictive relatives-in-law there is institutional avoidance which, however, is far less strictly observed than for true relatives by marriage of different generations. Owing to these rules a man must not or should not marry a slave girl owned by his divorced or deceased wife, just as it would be improper to marry a daughter-in-law.

(3) It is not forbidden for a man to marry a slave-girl whom he owns, even though she is considered his "daughter". This does not disagree with ordinary kinship-rules for a man is permitted to marry some of his classificatory daughters. If a man marries his own slave girl his children, among the Ayr Tuareg, would not be considered *Ichardanen* or *Iburelliten*, that is "mulattoes". They have the right to be considered true Tuareg or *Imajeren*, but in case of disagreements between a Tuareg of this type, and other people, they will call him by one of the terms used for "mulattoes", and may even call him "slave". If a man marries a slave girl who does not belong to him, his children of that marriage will 583 not become true Tuareg. But a Tuareg who wishes to marry a woman of slave status or a mulatto will attempt to secure the acknowledgment of his wife and her children as true Tuareg by the payment of a high bride-price. Thus a Tuareg of Ahaggar who married a mulatto girl gave for bride-wealth seven camels as is customary for noble Tuareg in the two northern groups, though the price according 554 to traditional rules should not exceed the value of one camel. It must be added that the position in Tuareg society of people who are not true Tuareg by origin depends greatly upon personal qualities. If a man is wise, rich, and generous, or if he is a marabut, all Tuareg will be ready to associate with him on equal terms even though he be predominantly negroid. I have noted several examples of this, and once met a very negroid nomad who was greatly respected by all Tuareg because he had once 564 567 killed seven goats in one day to entertain foreign guests. There are certain classes and castes in Tuareg society. Formally it seems comparatively easy for children of mixed marriages of Tuareg and slaves to be considered Tuareg as slaves have a social position different from that of true black-skinned castes.

567 608 (4) If a slave woman has suckled a Tuareg girl or has taken a little fair-skinned Tuareg girl to her as her own, she will be recognized as the girl's true mother. And if the slave woman has children of her own they will be recognized as brothers and sisters of the little Tuareg girl. When the Tuareg girl later marries, her husband will be considered the true son-inlaw of her slave-mother and there will